

## Conscript the Rockefeller Trust:

# STANDARD OIL--MERCHANTS OF DEATH

### Auto and Shipyard Workers: Should Labor Surrender Extra Pay for Overtime?

By JACK WILSON

Two important symptoms of the growing resentment among rank and file workers against the "appeasement of big business" policies of the top CIO leaders appeared this week.

The auto workers and shipyard workers unions called special conventions to take up the proposal adopted by the national CIO executive board to give up Sunday double-time pay.

Although the ostensible issue before these conventions is the overtime question, the fact is that the ranks of labor are quite as worried about the continual retreat of the CIO top leadership each time the industrial barons or their congressional spokesmen crack the whip as they are about the Sunday overtime problem.

### Budd Gets \$31 an Hour For His 'Labors'

Since Pearl Harbor the unions have relinquished the right to strike and their two demands for a union shop and a dollar a day wage increase have been stalled indefinitely. But big business has made no concessions. In fact, it keeps pressing for labor to make more and more sacrifices while it keeps raking in the profits.

Each time labor retreats the bosses demand another concession. And the growing realization that "you can't do business with big business," that appeasement doesn't pay, is what is worrying the ranks of labor.

The crucial question before these two CIO conventions is to turn the ignominious retreat of the CIO leaders into a general offensive against the war profiteers.

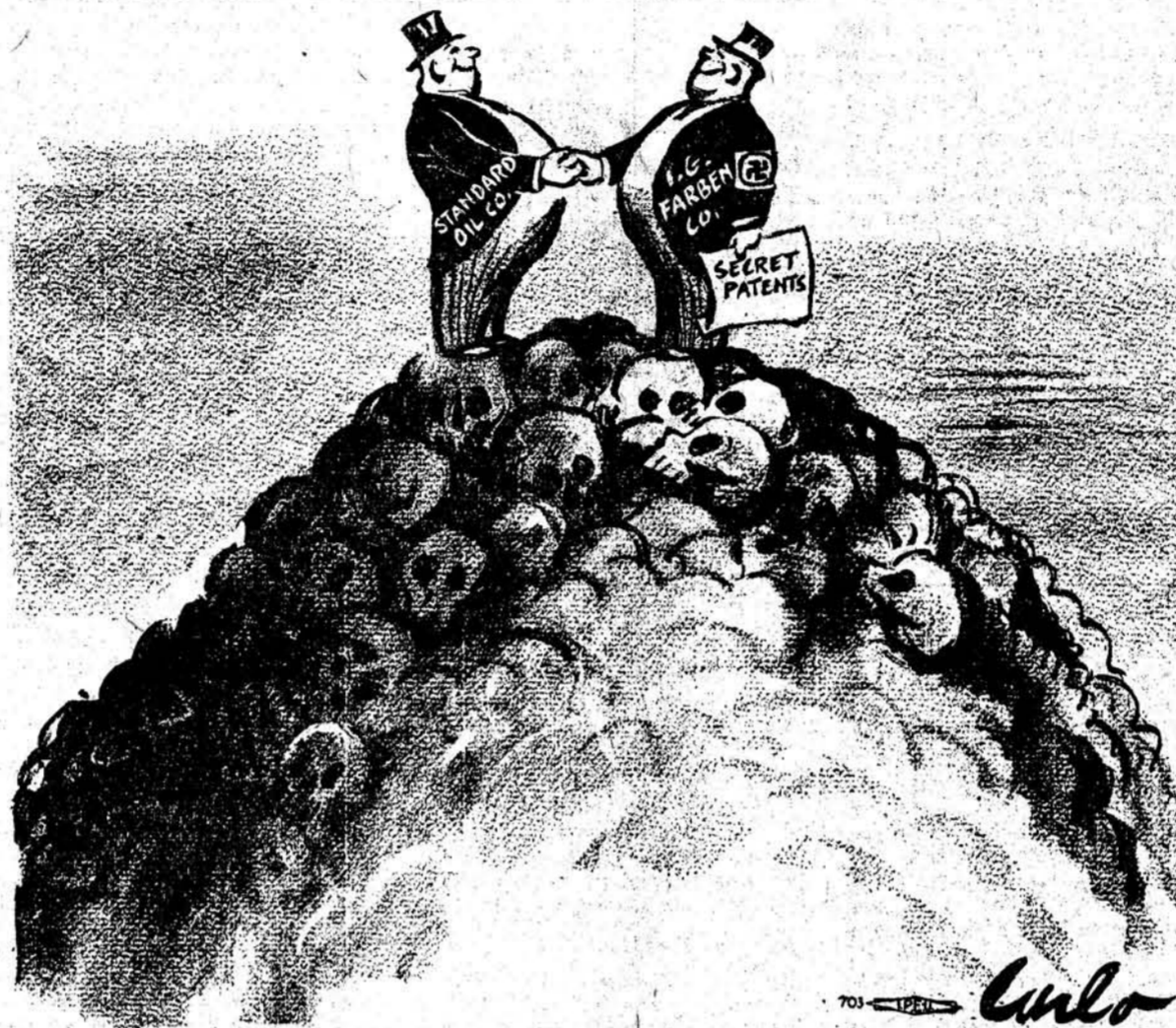
(Continued on page 2)

If the workers of the E. G. Budd Mfg. Co. have found that the years 1939 and 1940 have not been very profitable for them, the same cannot be said of Edward G. Budd, Sr., or his son, Edward G. Budd, Jr. As president and director of the E. G. Budd Mfg. Co., Budd, Sr., has handed himself for 1939 the modest sum of \$81,500 and then, to show the world that he deserved a raise, got himself an increase of \$4,100 for 1940, making his salary total \$85,600.

His son, Edward G. Budd, Jr., vice-president and a director, only received \$24,625 for 1939 and then, being more modest than his father, took only a \$1,000 raise for 1940, making his salary only \$25,600. One

(Continued on page 2)

### "STANDARD BUSINESS PRACTICES"



## Britain Offers a Rubber Check to Indian People

By HENRY JUDD

The British government has delivered a "fake it or leave it" ultimatum to the people of India.

Through the medium of its agent, Sir Stafford Cripps, the British have made it clear that if the proposed plan "were to be rejected by the leaders of Indian opinion, there will be neither the time nor the opportunity to reconsider this matter till after the war."

At the moment, the various political groups of India are considering the proposition of Cripps. The leading body of the Indian National Congress Party—made up entirely of conservative nationalists—is clearly split and divided on the question of acceptance or rejection. The remarks of Gandhi have indicated his opposition to accepting this phoney proposal of British imperialism.

As for the plan itself, it is a typical British fraud from start to finish. Indeed, if it were ever put into effect it would prove the most reactionary scheme imaginable for further dividing India.

(1) Cripps offers absolutely nothing now. Everything is for after the war. In the meanwhile, Britain is to continue its political, economic and military domination of the country. It is to have full charge of defense. Not one iota of democracy is to be

extended to India's 385 million people NOW! In this respect, the Cripps plan does not differ from a dozen and one other offers made by British imperialism for the sake of maintaining its rule.

(2) The post-war proposal for dominion status makes no provision for a genuine rule of India by the people. That could be accomplished only if the British ownership of the nation's resources, industry, commerce, etc., were to be liquidated. All that is proposed is a scheme by which the Indian politicians exercise political administration of the country, while the British remain in real power, through their economic stranglehold.

The offer permitting provinces to secede opens the door for further dismemberment of India and for a division along communal (Hindu and Moslem) lines. Such a proposal can only add more fuel to Hindu-Moslem antagonisms—something very much desired by the British. It is just as reactionary as if someone were to propose that America be divided between Protestants and Catholics.

(3) Most shameful proposal of all is the method by which India is supposed to frame a new constitution. A constitutional assembly, chosen by proportional representation by the members of all the provincial legislatures, is provided for.

Such an assembly is loaded in favor of the British from the very beginning. They call it; their supporters dominate it; they write the new constitution. For the provincial legislatures are elected by a very restricted vote to begin with. Less than 5 per cent of the population can vote. As a result, since the workers and poor peasants are deprived of the vote, the legislatures in the provinces are made up of the most conservative congressmen, plus open British supporters.

Also the Indian states will be represented at this assembly by men APPOINTED by the princes themselves. Since the British created the princes, this is equivalent to a DIRECT representative of British imperialism in the assembly.

And such an assembly is supposed to draft a constitution for a Free India. The only assembly that could do that would be a constitutional assembly of the people themselves, called through their own action and elected directly on the basis of universal suffrage.

To sum up, the Cripps scheme is a continuation of the same old run-around, seeking only to drag the unwilling people of India into the imperialist war. Even if the Congress leaders should accept it, it will obviously fail to arouse any enthusiasm or support among the population as a whole.

But it is difficult to see even how the most conservative leaders could accept such a proposition. Gandhi has referred to it as a "post-dated check," one that cannot be cashed until some indefinite date in the future.

On the basis of experience and according to customary British trickery in the past, it could better be described as a RUBBER CHECK, issued by a Tory ruling class whose credit has less and less value each day.

Even Nehru (who is reported as being ready to accept) recognizes this and understands what the masses would say if Congress says yes. "Suppose we did come to an agreement with Britain, short of independence. Various political groups would immediately say that the Congress was selling out. We can only resist the Japanese through the creation of a nation-wide feeling that India is already free."

Exactly, and only complete independence now will create that feeling. The Cripps mission to India has failed. He brought nothing but a promise of "blood, sweat and tears for the preservation of the British Empire."

### Standard Oil Cartel Peddled War Secrets to Hitler Govt.

Those vultures of human society, the merchants of death who sucked war profits out of bleeding humanity in the First World War, are at it again!

Topping the list in America is Standard Oil, the dynasty of the Rockefellers, who are dealing with Hitler, as they dealt with the Kaiser, to reap profits during the war.

Standard Oil, the company that sold aviation gas to Japan, whose bombers used it to kill American boys, has been exposed as making business deals with Hitler's companies at the expense of the United States, even while this country was at war with Germany.

So shocking were the revelations as uncovered by the trust division of the Department of Justice that Senator Harry Truman called the actions of Standard Oil "treasonable."

The sordid story of the dealings of the "oil octopus," which makes fabulous profits for the Rockefellers, was "not an exceptional one." "Standard Oil does not stand alone. This sort of thing was going on in a large number of American industries," Thurman Arnold of the Department of Justice asserted.

President Roosevelt and all of Washington knew of these nefarious dealings of the Rockefellers after the First World War; they were exposed by the Senate Munitions Committee.

But the Rockefellers are big shots. They get and still hold important government posts! In this so-called "war for democracy" they pile up huge fortunes while American soldiers die throughout the world!

The ghastly nature of the Second World War stands nakedly exposed by these revelations, so shocking in their scope and character that it was not possible to suppress them to cover up Standard Oil.

### WHAT STANDARD OIL DID

What did the Rockefeller dynasty do? (PM, New York daily, reports the Rockefellers have "working control" of Standard Oil. Brother, how they work it, too!)

Here are some of the things Thurman Arnold's reports disclose:

Standard Oil kept its patents secret from the government of the United States while it made them available to Hitler!

While it refused these patents to Great Britain and the United States, it advised Mussolini on how he could obtain them from Germany!

Standard Oil sold gasoline to Italy in the spring of 1941, through South America, despite objections of Secretary of State Hull! (So the State Department knew it all the time.)

Standard Oil in 1939, expecting a break between the United States and Japan, "suggested a partnership with them, insuring post-war business!"

In 1940, Standard Oil refused to make synthetic toluol, an ingredient for TNT, available to American companies, although Germany had full use of it!

What did Standard Oil get out of this? Profits! Profits that are even now smeared with the blood of soldiers!

In explanation and excuse for his company, Walter Teagle said: "People forget that Standard Oil is an international corporation."

(Continued in editorial column, page 4)

### —THE WORLD AT WAR—

## Standard Oil's Partner, I. G. Farben, Was Important Factor In Rise of Hitler's Power

By SENTINEL

Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General, has charged that Standard Oil "absolutely stifled" the production of synthetic rubber in the United States prior to the outbreak of war and that it continued to do so even after Pearl Harbor.

The American people were shocked by the revelation that because of the Standard Oil agreement with I. G. Farben, even the United States Navy was denied the butyl rubber process while this cheapest process for making rubber was made available to the Hitler government.

In his testimony before the Truman Committee, which is investigating the Standard Oil practices, Arnold repeatedly emphasized that these practices had been no different from those of other American concerns seeking profits through a cartel arrangement. He revealed that I. G. Farben, the German chemical trust, alone had more than 100 cartel agreements with corporations in the United States in addition to the cartel tie-ups in the aluminum, magnesium, tungsten, carbide, drug and dyestuff industries. Said Arnold: "Throughout my testimony I have tried to emphasize the fact

that this case is not unique. I do not think it is an extreme statement to say that in most basic war materials we find similar cartel agreements."

Arnold at the same time confessed that it was hard to get evidence on cartels without grand jury investigations. He added "...there is always a great deal of pressure against starting grand jury investigations of companies doing defense work." All the big corporations and cartels are included in this statement, since all are doing war work these days.

### A Light Fine

Senator Truman called the actions of the Standard Oil Co. "treasonable," and yet the company, its subsidiaries and its officers got off with a light \$50,000 fine. When this was brought to Arnold's attention he intimated that if the fines were larger the U.S. government would not have gotten the butyl patent from Standard Oil. "When the agreement reached my office," he said, "it was a 'take-it-or-leave-it' proposition."

Following this, President Roosevelt issued an order suspending all anti-trust actions against cartels for the duration of the war.

Let there be some bewilderment (Continued on page 4)

### Would-Be Fuehrers on Display:

## Who's Who in U. S. Fascists

By Susan Green

Let no worker think that the Coughlinites and Nazi-fascists of other names have folded their tents and stolen away. They are carrying on their dirty work of spreading Nazi propaganda. The methods of these enemies of the working class are the approved Hitlerian ones of anti-Semitism and lying demagoguery.

A worker must realize that in the very nature of fascism it will not voluntarily fold up. Only the workers can prevent it from accomplishing its aim of annihilating the unions and the whole working class movement. The ruling class will not do the job for the very good reason that fascism is created to serve the ruling class.

The truth is not altered by the fact that the authorities are now jailing a few American Nazis. In the present military clash of German and American imperialism, the immediate interests of the ruling class are connected with winning the war. So the Nazi propagandists who go "too far" are silenced.

### WHAT CHURCHILL SAID ABOUT HITLER

But the true attitude of the ruling class toward Hitlerism was enunciated on November 6, 1938, by Mr. Winston Churchill—who today declares himself a democrat second to none—in these words:

"I have always said that if Britain were defeated in war, I hoped that we would find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place among nations."

The only addition to be made to the above is that those capitalists who are depending on fascism for salvation, do not rely on FINDING a Hitler. They make sure that there WILL BE a horde of fascists and a generalissimo.

Just whom they are grooming for Hitler's role in this country is still a secret. But it is no secret that many aspire to the honor—and are building up their following. The ex-Bundists, the Coughlinites, Christian Fronters and Christian Mobilizers, the Pelleyites and Shirkers of various colors, and the Ku Klux Klan are the raw material for the Storm Troopers of an American Hitler—who would trample on the Jews and destroy the strength and independence of labor.

The propaganda of these Nazi organizations had no effect on the American working class when they came out in their true colors. When the Nazi McWilliams screamed: "I want to do in America what Hitler has done in Germany," a few hoodlums applauded. No worker wants his unions destroyed, his civil rights taken away and the iron heel on his neck—on the Hitler pattern. Neither will a worker swap "Solidarity Forever" for the "Horst Wessel Lied" of racial hatred.

It was only when the Nazi devils pulled in their horns and sprouted wings in the America First movement of pre-Pearl Harbor

(Continued on page 3)

## Los Angeles CIO Council in Anti-Democratic Precedent

Special to LABOR ACTION

LOS ANGELES—Leveling off at those who would defend labor's interests during the war, the Stalinists in the Los Angeles CIO Council last week inspired a motion to "discourage" that is, to prevent, the distribution before the CIO hall of LABOR ACTION, as well as The Militant and the Socialist Call, on the preposterous and paper-thin charge that these papers are "fascist" and "seditious." It is significant that the Stalinist People's World, WHICH NOT SO LONG AGO CHAMPIONED A PACT WITH HITLER and which daily hacks away at the rights and conditions of the working class, was not included in the motion. (The People's World, of course, has, in the opinion of LABOR ACTION, the right to be distributed.)

Interviewed by a LABOR ACTION reporter, "Slim" Connelly, council secretary, admitted that he hadn't read any of the papers mentioned,

but that he knew LABOR ACTION was "seditious" because of two headlines he had seen: one which appeared over a manifesto issued by a mass party of Ceylonese workers giving their opinion of the war; the second over an article attacking DONALD NELSON'S SCHEME TO INCREASE THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASS BY DEPRIVING IT OF ADEQUATE WAGE STANDARDS AND GUARANTEES.

Pressed by the LABOR ACTION reporter to state his meaning of "sedition" and "fascism" as it applies to a working class paper which, more consistently than others, has fought fascism and which guides its editorial policy by an unreserved loyalty and devotion to the interests of labor, Connelly, in effect, answered that any expression of opinion, save that of unqualified approval of all war schemes, however inimical to labor's cause, is "seditious." And

(Continued on page 2)



# Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

## A VITAL REPORT ON YUGOSLAVIA

The article we reprint below appeared in the first edition of the New York Times of March 22. In the later editions it had very strangely disappeared. We have the impression that a last minute telephone call from the Yugoslav government-in-exile or from the State Department must have been responsible for this deletion.

For, indeed, it must be very disagreeable for these gentlemen to have it revealed that the fighting Yugoslav soldiers and peasants do not consider either the Atlantic Charter or the program of the Yugoslav government-in-exile, which represents the large landowners and capitalists, as their ideals; but that, on the contrary, the agrarian revolution, coupled with a movement for national liberation, has begun in that country.

This report is especially significant in view of many opportunistic tendencies in the workers' movement which pretend that some very clever and complicated policy must be devised in order to win over the nationalistic layers of the people. It proves that wherever there is a real nationalistic movement—genuinely democratic in character, and not merely a pro-Allied movement—it is inevitably fused with socialist tendencies, which are not imported from somewhere but spring from the roots of these movements themselves.

The article follows:

Washington, March 21—Reports brought to America by travelers from occupied Eastern Europe disclose that General Draja Mihailovitch, Yugoslav guerrilla leader, is conducting a political revolution inside Yugoslavia while he manages a military revolt against the Axis invaders. His is a leftist regime, based on the hopes of radical Yugoslav intellectuals, who emphasize "pure democracy."

The people he governs have established small munitions factories, making bullets and powder for the Chetniks, who now number about 100,000 soldiers—including women and rebellious Bulgars, Albanians and Greeks who sneak across the mountains to join the man who stands for freedom from the Axis in Central Europe. The people also have organized a system of supply, whereby all the peasants participate in a sort of communal plan to keep the Chetnik army fed, clothed and housed.

### "A POPULAR CONSPIRACY"

General Mihailovitch emphasizes that his fight is essentially a people's fight. The general goes from community to community and addresses the people at mountainside twilight meetings known as "sastanaks," where the men and women discuss with him his plans and hopes. They advise and take advice.

The whole conduct of this strange, informal but real war depends on the popular conspiracy. Secret couriers cross the line into Axis-held Yugoslavia to get the news for him, and they hurry across his mountainous territory to carry his orders from town to town and from hill to hill.

Institutional arrangements in the Mihailovitch civil organization are founded on the arrangements made by the Yugoslav government that was driven from the country by the Axis invasion last March and April. A scarcity of money, the limited size of the free Yugoslav territory and the fact that battle is ever imminent serve, however, to reduce the scope of the civil institutions in the Mihailovitch territory.

What is important is that General Mihailovitch has changed the general nature of the political arrangements. The soldier-hero is introducing a practical socialism, manifested by a policy of wealth-sharing and by a general attitude of distaste for the bourgeoisie and for pre-war military leaders. There is a fondness for Russia and the Russian system, but the monarchy remains popular and the people remain religious.

At Uzeic, southwest of Belgrade, the populace set up a soviet republic after General Mihailovitch regained the territory around there late last year. But it is reported that the Axis, taking the region once more, stamped out that experiment.

## Extra Pay for Overtime--

(Continued from page 1)

The auto workers union should point out that General Motors, and not the auto workers union, made \$200,000,000 profit last year.

The question of who benefits by giving up of Sunday double time has to be answered, too. The soldiers on the front lines aren't going to get that money. The CIO workers would be glad to give it to them directly, if they could. Nor will the unemployed auto workers benefit.

Only General Motors will benefit. It will make more profit. Just as Bethlehem Steel will benefit in the shipyards. For the bosses will have to pay less wages and thus make more profits. Meanwhile labor would be taking a wage cut at a time when the cost of living is rapidly rising.

Business Week magazine, the mouthpiece of the industrialists, points out this week that the overtime issue is "just the beginning." They point out, "it is merely a token move toward settlement of the real issue on labor."

For after labor retreats on this, if it does, it will be asked to give up all wage demands.

Although the action of the CIO leaders in calling special conventions was done because of their fear of rank and file reactions against showing an appeasement policy down

their throats, a good precedent was established in calling union conventions for consideration of crucial issues.

But that is not enough. In the past the CIO auto workers union realized that in order to have a truly democratic vote on vital questions a referendum of the entire union membership was necessary.

For example, while the St. Louis convention of the auto workers union in 1940 voted to assess each member one dollar for special organization work, the convention voted to submit its recommendation to a national referendum.

The convention clarified the issue. The referendum decided it. The overtime question in all CIO unions is certainly of vital importance and deserves the same careful consideration.

Unity of the CIO can be achieved only by solidarity behind a program adopted democratically, with the approval of the ranks.

The CIO ranks must, to safeguard themselves and their splendid unions, repudiate the appeasement policies of the present leadership. They must turn the fire on the war profiteers. And they must rally the whole labor movement on these issues through democratic action within the unions.

## Detroit Negroes Plan March to Washington

Detroit Negro workers, aroused by the constant stalling of government officials who refuse forthrightly to back up the Negroes' demands to occupy the Sojourner Truth housing project, have threatened a march on Washington by April 1 if they do not receive satisfaction.

The Sojourner Truth project was originally built for Negro workers, many of whom are employed in war industries, but their occupancy was prevented when reactionary Ku Klux Klanners organized a demonstration against the Negroes and when government officials spinelessly refused to back up the right of the Negro workers to occupy the project.

The Rev. Charles A. Hill, chairman of the Citizens' Committee fighting for the right of the Negro workers to move into Sojourner Truth, made the announcement about the proposed March on Washington.

Detroit Negroes were bitterly incensed when Howard Acton, personal representative of President Roosevelt, made a suggestion that the

Negroes "compromise" on the situation by making a "patriotic gesture"—sending a telegram to Washington saying that they were willing to give up their right to occupy Sojourner Truth.

According to the Detroit Tribune, a Negro weekly, Mr. Acton came to the conclusion that there was "stone-wall opposition against any compromise."

The Detroit trade union movement has taken an active role in defense of the Negro workers and has made clear that white workers stand shoulder to shoulder with their Negro brothers against the Ku Klux Klanners and other race haters.

### Say, Mr. Reader?

What do you think of this paper? Interesting? Like it?

Why not make sure of getting LABOR ACTION plus The New International, a monthly socialist magazine, for six months for only \$1.00? Fill in the blank on page 2.

# The Cotton Chopping Season Comes to Missouri

The cotton chopping season in Southeast Missouri is approaching. In another month or so the weeds will be thick between the rows of cotton and they will have to be cut out by back-breaking labor or the crop will perish. For the landlords to get their rent and their profits, the workers must chop the cotton.

Everybody gets his share out of the workers' labor. But everybody is agreed that while he must get enough and more to live on the worker must continue to get 12 cents an hour.

The workers are stirring. The government gives the landlords large subsidies. Yet these landlords want to continue paying the same starvation wages.

If only the general public could know the facts the cry of "shame" would ring from one end of the country to another. But the landlords don't want the truth to be known. For this reason, the landlords, the government and all their allies begin to prepare an alibi.

Trouble in Southeast Missouri? "Yes," they say, "the condition of the people is not so good but the real cause of the trouble is that Japanese agents have been stirring up the Negroes"; and then they go on to say that the Workers Party has been holding meetings in the area and distributing copies of LABOR ACTION.

The idea is clear: tie up the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION with the Japanese. Call them all fifth columnists and saboteurs. Thus you fool the public as to what is really taking place; you confuse, terrorize and demoralize the workers and you pin the label of Jap agent on anyone who dares to stand up and say that three dollars a week is not sufficient for a man, his wife and two children to live on!

### SLANDER BEING SPREAD

In Southeast Missouri this vile slander is being spread already. If these government bureaucrats, landlords and the rest think they are going to get away with that, they are mistaken. If, when a man says that he and his family can't live on three dollars a week, it means that he is a Jap agent, then 99 per cent of the people in this country are Jap agents.

The workers in the cotton fields must be on guard not to be frightened into silence and submission. The workers all over the country must see to it that this deceitful propaganda is treated with the immediate denunciation and contempt it deserves. Anyone who says that the workers in cotton must continue to live as they are living and not say anything about it is a scoundrel, a stooge of the landlords, a traitor to the millions of working people in this and every other country.

Scripture says: "By their fruits ye shall know them." It is a good saying. For today, as cotton chopping time approaches, the workers will know who are their friends and who are their enemies.

If to say that the conditions must be changed is to be a Jap agent and fifth columnist, then the government will have to begin arresting some of its own members in Washington.

### WHAT A GOVERNMENT STUDY SAID

In 1936 the WPA, under Harry Hopkins, published a study of landlords and tenants on the cotton plantations by T. J. Woolfer, Jr. The statements which follow are all from this government publication. During these five years things have got steadily worse.

Of the white tenants, 68 out of every 100 had unimproved outhouses; 27 out of every 100 had no facilities at all. Of the Negroes who owned their houses, 67 out of every 100 had unimproved outhouses, while 31 out of every 100 had no outhouses at all. Yet the drinking water came from wells in 80 out of every 100 homes.

One out of every 100 used water from a stream, ten out of every hundred used spring water. An average of no more than 5 per cent had cisterns. These are the sanitary conditions.

As for the shacks themselves, some of them have been there since the Civil War. Woolfer himself says that "the housing for cotton tenants is below the level of any other large segment of the nation's population." If that shows the state of the houses in 1934, it is easy to imagine what those houses are like in 1942.

How is the tenant to improve his position? In 1934 the average wage of the tenants and renters was \$309 per family or \$73 per person. But for the wage-laborers the average was \$180 per family. In the Arkansas River area it was \$213 per family. In the interior plain it was \$70. One dollar and thirty cents per week for a laborer and his family to live on. The average per person in the wage laborer's family all over the cotton states was 17 cents a day (Woolfer, page 83).

### LIVE ON TEN CENTS A DAY

Today from one end of the cotton country to the other, vast numbers of tenants and croppers have been converted into wage laborers, and thousands upon thousands of families live on an income which is about 10 cents per day per person. Today these laborers are beginning to say: "The cotton chopping season is approaching. We had no work since the beginning of December. Cotton chopping will last from the middle of May to the

middle of June. After that we get no work again until the beginning of September. We will not work for \$1.25 a day. We must have more." When the laborers say this, the landlords, the press and their stooges begin to shout: "You are sabotaging the war effort!"

Two years ago, Woolfer and two others made another study of the cotton country. They took 1937 and they said that "the Southern cotton planter was in a far better position economically in 1937 than three years previously." (The Plantation South, 1934-37, WPA, page 55.) The tenants, said this government publication, were also a little better off.

But vast numbers of the tenants in 1934 had been turned into wage laborers. Dealing with the situation of the poorer families as a whole, this government publication states: "The problems aren't new, but additional data on diet, housing, health, education and plane of living as they become available serve to throw the situation into even sharper relief."

That is simply gospel truth. After all the shouting and the boasting about Farm Security, WPA, AAA and surplus commodities and government projects, a government investigator admits that the poverty of these people is in "even sharper relief."

### Is he a Jap agent, too?

### GOVERNMENT ADMITS APPALLING CONDITIONS

On the very next page he says that a recent survey was made of 697 rural families. How much pork, eggs, milk, butter and beef had they during the week? Here is what they found: "The results were little short of appalling and indicate that the poverty-stricken rural family is little better off dietetically today than it was 30 years ago."

Appalling in 1907. Appalling in 1937. It will be appalling in 1967 unless the workers put a stop to it.

Now the landlords and their stooges have a brand-new excuse: "the war." But what has the war got to do with it? Does the war mean that a man must work for \$1.25 a day? Does it mean that he doesn't have a right to improve his conditions? Does it mean that he doesn't have a right to say: "Look here, Mr. Boss. You made plenty of profits last year. What about cutting into those profits and give me some more money with which to eat?"

The workers of Southeast Missouri realize very well that all this talk about the war and Jap agents is just a trick on the part of the landlords to prevent them from fighting for better wages. They're not interested in helping Japan; they're interested in improving their miserable conditions. And they mean to do it.

## How the News Came Through From Singapore

The Englishman in charge of press censorship at Singapore prior to its capture was a former magistrate from the Fiji Islands.

He didn't know one newspaper from another and the only Press Association he'd ever heard of was Reuters.

He dedicated himself to the proposition that "no one, absolutely no one, old boy, will find out one damned thing about Singapore."

He was successful. (From the British New Leader.)

## Will Gloria Vanderbilt Trim Easter Bonnet?

During the last month, according to the statistical and research division of the Chamber of Commerce of Buffalo, living costs there have risen again. Food has gone up 1 per cent, clothing 2 per cent, house furnishings 3.1 per cent in the last 30 days. The report issued by the Chamber of Commerce does not deal with the tremendous increases in the cost of living since the war started.

But it is simple for any Buffalo housewife to realize that every time she walks into the grocery store she finds that items which were a few pennies less the day before have now gone up. Perhaps the government would suggest that these housewives plant their own spinach in little Victory Gardens. As for buying new clothes, few workers and their families have enough money.

The consumer division of the Office of Price Administration has called housewives' attention to the fact that a needle and thread can "go a long way to meeting your family's clothing needs." They suggest that working-class women do more sewing and mending and also that clothing needed for the coming season be "remade entirely of things already on hand."

Which leads us to wonder: Will Gloria Vanderbilt be trimming her own Easter bonnet this year?

## Los Angeles CIO Council--

(Continued from page 1)

forth, THAT THE DEMAND FOR TIME AND A HALF PAY FOR SATURDAYS, AS FOUGHT FOR BY THE LABOR MOVEMENT FOR YEARS, IS SIMILARLY "SEDITIONARY."

Brother Connelly will undoubtedly find a good section of the union movement disagreeing with him!

### Dangerous Disregard

This reporter tried to point out to Connelly that the very stand he was taking was a dangerous precedent for reactionary action against the CIO. Labor-hating elements which have organized a heavily financed campaign against the unions would like to see the CIO outlawed for its championship of labor's rights. And moreover, any attack on the civil rights of any section of the labor movement to which the CIO made itself a party, in violation of its character and trust, would boomerang against the CIO as reactionaries chose these very precedents to hound the CIO in its organizing work.

Questioned further as to the meaning of "discourage" in the wording of the motion, Connelly admitted that the CIO could not bar the distribution of any paper on the streets, especially one which circulates freely through the mails, but intimated that individual members of the unions, and we can suspect who these will be, might be encouraged to resort to physical violence against the distributors. Inasmuch as there is no legal ground whatsoever for preventing the distribution of LABOR ACTION, or any of the papers mentioned, it is possible that exactly this may be attempted. If so, those who participate in the attack will be making themselves responsible for an act which can only bring discredit to the labor movement.

Stalinist Motion That the origin of the motion can be traced directly to the Stalinists is beyond question, although they may have sucked some well-meaning unionists into the scheme. IT IS A FACT THAT THE WORKERS WHO RECEIVE LABOR ACTION IN THIS CITY HAVE RESPONDED TO IT WARMLY, OFFERING IN FACT VARIOUS SUMS OF MONEY

TO DEFRAY THE COST OF DISTRIBUTION. Hence the campaign of the Stalinists which fits in with attempts made in various cities, all of them unsuccessful, to discredit LABOR ACTION.

The workers who read LABOR ACTION know what it stands for. They know its program. It is this program, the very fact that it speaks a working class program AGAINST fascism, the very fact that it champions an out-and-out labor program, that has aroused the fury of the Stalinist bureaucrats who have no loyalty other than that of promoting the interests of Stalin, whether this requires belly-crawling support of the war, or opposition to it—as was the case during the late unlamented Hitler-Stalin pact. It is these bureaucrats, who haven't a concern in their heads for the interests of labor, who have provoked their henchmen or deluded militants into this campaign against LABOR ACTION and the other papers.

This reporter does not know if Connelly is or is not a Stalinist friend. But it is obvious at, at least on this score, Connelly is allowing himself to be utilized by the Stalinists.

It is up to the union militants in the Los Angeles area to resist this move as a measure of protection of their own unions which are increasingly under attack, and as a demonstration of belief in the civil liberties of the working class.

## CIO Reports on Effects of Priorities Unemployment

Despite the hue and cry now being raised in Washington about a "labor shortage," there are still 7,041,000 people unemployed in America, according to an estimate of the CIO's Economic Outlook

The Economic Outlook reports in detail the effects of priorities unemployment on the auto workers. According to the UAW, there were 190,000 workers unemployed in Michigan alone because of the conversion shutdown of the auto industry; and approximately 60,000 likewise unemployed throughout the rest of the country.

"The union estimated that these workers were being reemployed at the rate of not more than 15,000 a month"

"The returns indicated," says the Economic Outlook, "that 79 per cent of those who reported they were out of work due to the war dislocation were undergoing a very serious cut of living standards. Of the group, 24 per cent reported that they were depending upon an employed member of the family. Apparently others were getting by on the basis of credit and savings. Among those reporting a serious reduction in living standards, 27 per cent were cutting down on foods; 13 per cent were doing without any purchase of clothing; 17 per cent were going into debt; 21 per cent were either being evicted or were voluntarily giving up their homes."

These are the effects of priorities unemployment. Yet the congressmen in Washington scream bloody murder against labor, but refuse to lift a finger to help those who suffer from priorities unemployment.



"The \$1.00 subscription campaign in Buffalo is well under way. All my friends are making house-to-house visits in those areas which have been regularly covered with LABOR ACTION for several months.

"We are also arranging to sell the \$1.00 offers at public meetings held in Negro neighborhoods of the city. Meanwhile, we are increasing our bundle order by 250 copies per week." (Buffalo LABOR ACTION agent.)

The following list of combination LABOR ACTION and New International subs, and regular LABOR ACTION subs was received during the past week:

San Pedro	15
New York State	7
West Virginia	6
New York City	4
Virginia	4
Pennsylvania	4
Baltimore	2
Los Angeles	2
Ohio	2
Washington, D. C.	1
Philadelphia	1
Chicago	1
Missouri	1
Total	48

This is a gratifying response—the best yet for any given week. But this record can easily be surpassed if our friends get down to work.

LET'S GO!

## Fort Bragge, Sikeston and Little Rock

Sikeston has now been replaced by the more recent tragedy at Little Rock, Ark. On Sunday, March 25, Sergeant Thomas R. Foster was shot down in cold blood when he attempted to protect a Negro soldier who was being beaten by white civilian officers.

One of the officers fired five shots into the prostrate form of Foster where he lay after he had been struck down by one of their number

The usual investigations are being held. The usual letters and speeches protesting the outrage are being written and spoken, and indignation will run high until the next outrage occurs and pushes this one into the background. And meantime nothing will be done, just as nothing was done about Fort Bragge or Sikeston. Those responsible will not be punished. No real measures will be taken to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies.

Fort Bragge, Sikeston and Little Rock are all markers along the road of race hatred and bigotry. They are wounds that do not have time to heal before new ones are inflicted. But more than this, they are symbols of the rottenness of a system that can breed such crimes.

## Budd Gets \$31 an Hour For His 'Labors'

(Continued from page 3)

salesman, named Sterling J. Joyner, received \$40,800 for 1939 and the same sum for 1940. Four officers of the firm received in salaries and bonuses a total of \$41,000. The board of directors also were repaid for their hard work by receiving about \$5,000 each. Incidentally, several members of the board of directors are prominent Philadelphia bankers, who arranged for the new \$8,000,000 Reconstruction Finance Corp. loan, made by the Budd Co. on May 27, 1941. The loan is at 5 per cent interest charges and its way into their hands.

All workers know that, for years, Budd has fought bitterly to keep the men in his plant from being unionized. He has employed the blacklist, spies and company unions. As a result of these tactics, he has managed to keep the wages of his men 20 per cent lower than that of union factories throughout the country.

On the other hand, Budd certainly does not believe in low hourly wages for either himself or his family. During the year 1940 he received \$1,261 per week, or a wage rate of \$31 an hour! His son got \$492 per week, or a measly \$12 an hour. Compare this with the 60 and 70 cents per hour made by the unskilled workers in the factory.

While the 10,000 employees in the factory work for an average yearly wage of \$1,600, Budd receives at least 65 times their salary, and for what? His men earn every dollar of their miserable wages. The bad working conditions of the Budd plant are notorious throughout Philly.

The difference in wages between the Budd employees and Budd, Sr. and Jr. explains quite a few things. It explains why Budd lives in a palatial mansion in Germantown while the Budd workers live in small homes that have run down because there has been no money to effect the necessary repairs.

Mr Budd and his family can take nice long summer and winter vacations, but the only vacations his employees get are the seasonal layoffs that Mr. Budd hands out the minute business gets a bit slow.

Is there any wonder that Mr. Budd tries so hard to keep the UAW-CIO out of his plant? He knows that the union will cut into some of the fat profits of his family. He knows that his luxurious way of living depends on how low he can keep the living standards of the 10,000 men that work in his plant. (To be continued.)

## Negroes Can Vote in So. Carolina if They Are 87 Years Old

Negroes in South Carolina will now be permitted to vote in Democratic primaries provided:

- 1) They are 87 years old;
- 2) They have voted the Democratic ticket continuously since 1876.

This farcical ruling, which effectively bars just about every South Carolina Negro from voting, was passed by the city executive committee of the Democratic Party in Columbia, S. C. The text of the resolution is:

"Every Negro applying to vote in the city Democratic primary must be known to have voted the Democratic ticket continuously since 1876."



## Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

Some weeks ago Leon Henderson ordered the freezing of prices of canned goods. The reports gave the impression that Mr. Henderson's order would stop the galling practice of slapping 1 cent, 2 cents and 3 cents onto the retail prices of canned goods—without rhyme or reason. However, that is exactly what continues to happen.

When complaining to grocers about the recent increases in prices of canned goods in spite of the freezing order, housewives get the answer: "We don't know about any freezing order."

Did Mr. Henderson order a ceiling on prices of canned goods, or didn't he?

And if he did, why is the housewife not getting the benefit of his order?

A young woman recently employed in a war production plant was put in a department where she was the only woman. She was taken on to replace a worker who had been drafted. He had worked at 80 cents an hour. She was employed at 55 cents an hour.

The men immediately ganged up on her. They used every trick they knew to "discourage" her from keeping the job. They hid tools and tried to bungle up her work.

The men were so mean because they saw in the new woman worker, employed at a much lower wage, a threat to their own wage standards.

Not only that, they saw in her a new rival for a job in the post-war period, when jobs are going to be very much fewer.

However, that woman went to work because she needs a job. She will try again somewhere else. What did these workers accomplish by their hostile conduct—except to antagonize a fellow worker?

Something entirely different must be done about the influx of women into industry.

Every new woman worker must be turned into a good militant unionist. And the union must make an issue of, and put up a real fight for, equal wages for equal work regardless of sex or color. Thus and only thus will the threat to wage standards be removed.

Workers will not get anywhere by antagonizing each other. Only the boss will gain thereby. The situation demands working class solidarity.

For the post-war period, if socialism is not by then victorious, unions must prepare to demand a shorter work week—thirty hours or less, with an adequate minimum wage for all workers alike. This will make jobs for more workers. Unions must also prepare to demand that plants be opened to produce goods needed for consumption, when the bosses close down for reasons of profit. This will also make more jobs for the post-war period.

In this way men and women workers, black and white workers, must together plan for their mutual benefit. Otherwise the bosses will use women against men, black against white—and the whole working class will get it in the neck.

Washington politicians are overworking their poor brains on schemes to reduce the purchasing power of the workingman and his family. At the same time the society columns of the Washington papers tell of the gay goings-on of the real spendthrifts. There are no pikers in the Washington smart set.

On Sunday 70 guests dropped in on Federal Security Administrator and Mrs. McNutt. Then again the Rhode Island Avenue home of Mrs. George Barnett saw a constant "inpouring and outpouring of guests" on Sunday afternoon.

Mrs. Lawrence Wood Robert celebrated her birthday twice—once at a cocktail party given by her husband, and once more at a buffet supper given by the Under Secretary of the Interior and his wife at their Woodley Park Tower apartment. Among the distinguished guests were House Speaker Samuel Rayburn, Secretary of Agriculture and Mrs. Wickard, Rear Admiral and Mrs. George Pettengill, Representative James Barnes, Mrs. Leon Henderson. And you will want to know that "Hattie Carnegie, the famous couturier, flew down from New York for the party with her husband, Major John Zanft." It takes a lot of purchasing power to throw such parties and to be ravishing in gowns by Hattie Carnegie.

On the same day Comdr. and Mrs. Charles Windsor were at home to nearly 200 people, according to the Washington Times-Herald. "Everybody came and nobody went," the columnist wrote, and there was "much fun and forgetfulness of time." It takes a lot of purchasing power to entertain 200 "discriminating guests" into "forgetfulness of time."

The smart set in Washington is all for the war to save "their way of life." And why not?

Mothers shudder with horror at the wholesale annihilation of adults and innocent children in the European countries by starvation and disease. Some reports estimate that in France alone 1,000 children die daily. In Greece an epidemic of diphtheria took a toll of 700 to 800 children a day because of lack of antitoxin—this on top of the "normal" deaths from starvation.

Mothers in America console themselves with the thought: "It can't happen here."

Why can't it happen here?

The First World War—which was milk and honey compared to the present conflict—brought to this country an epidemic of influenza that played havoc with the population and killed off a lot of people. It was unanimously agreed by medical authorities that the epidemic was caused by malnutrition due to the war, plus the overwork, weariness, exhaustion suffered by the people. The shortage of hospitals, beds, nurses and doctors, also due to the war, made it impossible to give the stricken people proper care.

It is true that today life in this country is still "near normal." But what of the years to come? Senator Taft talks of a five-year war. Senator Pepper talks of a ten-year war as a possibility. The Kiplinger Service for business men paints an even more devastating picture—a future of unceasing wars.

What will happen to us, all if the destructive processes of war continue over five, over ten years? What if the devastation of war continue throughout our epoch?

Can't it happen here?

The working class can afford to take no chances. Socialism holds the only guarantee of the survival of the human race in a civilized society. For socialism will end wars.

### April Issue of the NI

The April issue of The New Internationalist will be off the press in a few days. It contains interesting articles on Indian social classes, India's role in the war, Marxian economic theory, discussion articles on the national question in Europe, reviews of St. John and Stolper.

The NI sells for 20 cents. Get your copy now.

## The Case of Lew Ayres

# A Courageous Man - - a Futile Gesture

By JACK WILSON

In that popular Dr. Kildaire movie series, Lew Ayres, Hollywood star, became the symbol of a kind of doctor of which this world needs many more: one who fights incessantly against ignorance, prejudice, conservatism and the other opponents of human progress in the field of medicine.

Dr. Kildaire always got in hot water with the "powers-that-be" by acting according to his burning faith in justice, truth and the common people.

Unlike a vast herd of Hollywood stars, Lew Ayres did not separate his personal life and convictions from the ideas and roles he portrayed on the screen.

Ayres achieved great recognition for his appearance as a young soldier in that brilliant anti-war movie, "All Quiet on the Western Front."

It was this movie, he told a draft board last week, that gave him an unshakable conviction that all wars were futile. And that is why he expressed opposition to the present

World War and why he was classified as a conscientious objector.

The significance of this bold stand far outweighs the futile method by which Ayres sought to oppose the present world slaughter.

Like many other movie actors, Ayres could have obtained a soft post in the Army, traveling around the country, and being lionized by cafe society. It was the easy road.

### Ayres Takes the Hard Road

Instead, Ayres took the hard road, filled with curses and slanders; he sacrificed his personal career in order to be true to his convictions. This was the action of a brave man.

His action was the first rift in the propaganda capital of America, Hollywood. It was in the best tradition of artists and actors of other trying times, who sought to place themselves on the side of suffering humanity.

Of course, Ayres will be hounded and cursed, especially in Hollywood, by those who know better, by those whose guilty consciences are irri-

tated by the example of an honest man.

Muni and Douglas

Not so long ago, Paul Muni, a notable actor, appeared in the splendid production, "The Life of Emile Zola," which exposed the Dreyfus frame-up that rocked France. But Muni was afraid to speak up against the equally infamous Moscow Trials because of the threats and power of the Stalinist machine.

And Melvyn Douglas, to take another example, obtained a reputation as a friend of the "oakies" and of "unpopular" causes by his activities. Yet, recently he refused to voice his real opinions of the Minneapolis frame-up trials, although his organization, the American Civil Liberties Union, denounced the verdict against the Minneapolis Trotskyists.

There are many other examples of the cowardice and fear on the part of the Hollywood crowd. It is precisely because Lew Ayres rose above this putrefying atmosphere that his action is symbolic.

# Negroes! Japanese Imperialist Record Shows Them To Be Your Bitter Enemy

By PAUL HARRIS

In the late 19th century Japan was following exactly the same imperialist policy in Asia, and was doing it for exactly the same reasons as the other imperialist countries—the crisis in the Japanese economy, which is also part of the world-wide capitalist economy and is subject to its laws.

In 1875 Japan took from China a chain of islands which extend south toward Formosa. In 1885 she fought China and took Formosa. By this time the scramble for colonies was general. Britain grabbed Burma, France grabbed Indo-China, the United States jumped in and took the Philippines.

Japan, a capitalist country, was head and shoulders with the rest. If she was interested in helping the colored races she could have sided with them. Instead she was always on the side of the imperialists and against the independence of the Eastern peoples.

At about 1885 the Chinese masses, organized by secret societies, chief of them the Boxers, made an attempt to drive out the foreigners in the famous Boxer rebellion. Here was a chance for Japan to fight with China or at least to show them sympathy.

### Help Crush Rebellion

Instead, the Japanese ruling class joined with Britain, France and the United States, sent soldiers to help crush the rebellion and shared in the indemnity which was squeezed out of China.

Indians, Malays, Burmese, all were oppressed then as they are today. They wanted freedom. Japan never lifted a finger to help them. Instead in 1902 the Japanese formed an alliance with Britain, the oppressor of so many millions of Asiatics.

Facing Japan on the Asiatic continent is Korea. Beyond Korea is Manchuria. And beyond Manchuria is Russia. In the war of 1905 Japan had compelled Korea to break away from China and declare itself "independent." If the Japanese had wanted to free Asia for the Asiatics, it would have been simple enough to help the Koreans establish their genuine independence. Instead, Japan fought Russia for mastery of Korea and when Russia was defeated, proceeded to invade Korea and subject the Koreans to a regime as brutal, as terroristic as the British in India and the British, French and Belgians in Africa ever established.

Today Korea hasn't even a nominal independence. The Koreans are among the bitterest enemies of the Japanese. Korea is now a colony of the Japanese Empire.

In other words, the Koreans have suffered the same fate as they would have suffered under czarist imperialism. White imperialism, yellow imperialism: the aim is to exploit and nothing else.

### The World War

Meanwhile the increasing crisis of capitalism on a world scale continued. In 1880 they could divide Africa and Asia peacefully. By 1914 there was nothing more to divide, so they could only re-divide; this time by war. Japan was in the same perpetual crisis as the others and behaved the same way.

As soon as the war began Japan presented 21 points to China which amounted to a destruction of China's independence. She aimed not at freedom for China but at making China a Japanese colony for the same reason that Britain holds India and large parts of Africa; to loot and plunder.

Britain and America blocked Japan after the war and Japan bided her time. But by 1929 the world crisis was on again and this time such a crisis as had never been seen

before. In America it resulted in 1932 in 20,000,000 unemployed.

All the imperialist countries now prepared for war. Great Britain and France to hold on to their colonies; Germany to get some at all costs, America backing Britain in order to defeat Germany and establish herself as master over Great Britain and Germany.

But the same intolerably sharpening economic crisis which drove the white imperialists to war also drove Japan. The crisis broke in 1929. It is no accident that only two years after Japan struck at Manchuria and while Hitler shouted for the "new order" and Britain and America could find nothing better than the same old "war for democracy" slogan, Japan thought up a new one: "Asia for the Asiatics."

Could anything be more hypocritical? How foolish it now is to make a racial analysis of imperialism can be seen by a consideration of the course of Germany in Europe.

In 1933 the German ruling class, long wishing for a re-division of the earth, maneuvered Hitler into power and set out to prepare for the inevitable imperialist war. Germany lacked a great navy. Britain and France held large areas in Africa. Japan was situated in a position that made China especially suitable

for her to attack and exploit if victorious. Hitler decided to colonize Europe first.

Britain and France, fighting for their colonies, gave way to him as long as possible, even built him up, but finally fought him to save their own plunder. Hitler, victorious in the first round, now has made Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Belgium and to some degree even France into colonial or semi-colonial countries, looting and plundering, murdering and massacring these white men, just as Japan, the so-called leader of the colored races, wants China and the Far East to loot and plunder.

Hitler murders and massacres to bring white men under his control and Japan murders and massacres to bring yellow men under her rule in the same way. Hitler, in order to fool the workers, invents a theory about Aryan superiority, proclaims the Germans a master race, meanwhile enslaving Europe for the benefit of German imperialism. Any excuse is good enough for imperialism.

Why should a man who can see through Hitler's lying slogans, who can see through the false slogan of "war for democracy," why should he suddenly become devoid of all sense and understanding

when the Japanese pretend that they are fighting for the Asiatics to have Asia?

That is the record. Capitalist crisis followed by imperialist plunder, carried out, at first, without the imperialists going to war; deeper capitalist crisis, then still more ruthless imperialist plunder and a fierce imperialist war (1914-1918), then 1929 such a crisis as was never seen before. Japanese imperialism goes plundering still more fiercely in China. Hitler starts to make Europe into a colony, Britain and France fiercely defend their right to exploit their colonies. America seeks to be master of the whole world with Britain as junior partner.

### Japan Just as Others

We now have to ask one question of those Negroes who think Japan is fighting to emancipate the colored races: If the Japanese had been a white race, please tell us how differently they would have behaved in the capitalist crisis of 1880, in the imperialist scramble between 1880 and 1900; in the war of 1914-18; in the crisis of 1929 which led straight to the present war; and in the present war itself?

The answer is obvious. They would have done exactly the same as they actually did.

Which should put an end to the nonsensical propaganda that Japan is fighting to emancipate the colored races. As a matter of fact, one of the stupidest things that one can say today is that Britain and America are fighting for democracy; but if there is anything equally stupid it is to say that Japan is fighting to emancipate the colored races.

The only road to Negro freedom is the road of socialism—a society in which racial hatreds will be once and for all abolished. Such a society should be the goal of all Negroes.

## Fascists Control The De Gaulle "Free French"?

Uncensored dispatches indicate disharmony in the Free French organization. Admiral Muselier, head of the fleet, has been placed under arrest by General De Gaulle in London.

De Gaulle has his own barracks and headquarters in London, with extra-territorial status of a foreign government. He can imprison any of his officers on British soil.

Word of Muselier's arrest has not leaked out except to members of the Free French fleet, reported furious. Other naval officers served notice on De Gaulle that unless Muselier is released, the entire fleet will join the British Navy.

Admiral Auboinau has taken Admiral Muselier's place.

Muselier occupied the North Atlantic islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon and brought down a storm from Secretary of State Hull. He is pro-republican and this is a trouble spot in the Free French organization.

Many Free French leaders have belonged to French fascist groups and De Gaulle never was any disciple of democracy. Muselier not only was ardent for republicanism but surrounded himself with republican officers. This is reported to be why the De Gaulle clique removed him.

Note—De Gaulle's uncertain position toward democracy is one reason why he has never had any extensive following from the French masses.

—From the column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," by Pearson and Allen of March 26.

## Who's Who Among Native Fascists - -

First of a Series

(Continued from page 1)

days, that they became more dangerous to the working class. Some workers opposed to war joined the Firsters, not realizing that it harbored the American Nazis—their worst enemies. Some Irish-American workers, having tasted the butt end of British imperialism and not desiring to fight for it, unwittingly made common cause with the agents of Nazi imperialism in the America First movement.

None of these misguided workers knew that the phrase "America First" was originally used 'way back in 1934 at the same time that "Britain First" became the slogan of Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. "America First" was then incorporated and set up with headquarters in Washington. James True was made director. His offices became a clearing house for anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi propaganda. This is the same True who obtained a patent for a special nightstick which he called a "kike killer." It might also have been called a "unionist killer."

When war broke out in Europe, the Nazis here saw their chance to serve the cause of Nazism by infiltrating into isolationist groups. Many of the real activists of America First were the Nazi-fascists.

It is a well known fact that John T. Flynn, chairman of the Manhattan chapter of America First—an isolationist and not a fascist—denounced the Nazi, Joseph McWilliams, before an audience of 22,000 in Madison Square Garden. But what is not so widely known is this: When Father Coughlin turned a furious barrage against Flynn for his attack on McWilliams, General Robert E. Wood, national head of America First, sided with Coughlin. In a letter published in Coughlin's falsely named "Social Justice," the general wrote: "Replying to your letter of July 5th, I have not rejected the Christian Social Justice movement. I welcome their support of our common objective..."

It isn't hard to guess who was the real boss of the America Firsters. And Coughlin is no friend of the American workers.

### LIKE MAGGOTS IN ROTTEN MEAT

Throughout the country, from New York to Los Angeles, the American Nazis infested the America First movement like maggots on rotten meat. In Los Angeles, for instance, Benjamin F. Bullard, organizer of the American Guards, which sponsors abolition of labor unions in Hitler style, was chairman of a chapter of America First.

In Chicago, Cincinnati and Indianapolis, Donald Shea, Nazi leader of the Jew-hating National Gentile League, was an energetic Firster. In Detroit and Philadelphia America First rallies featured the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, a member of Pelley's Silver Shirt League—a militarist organization based on the storm trooper model, that has "distinguished" itself by anti-strike activity.

In the South and elsewhere the Ku Klux Klan was distributing its poisonous literature with that of the America First committee. Throughout the heyday of this fraudulent movement the poison presses of the Nazis were working overtime, and filthy fascist propaganda was widely circulated along with official America First literature.

It is vitally necessary for the workers to understand the composition of America First. Though officially the Firsters are now dissolved, the fascist forces that utilized it as a COVER to strengthen themselves, definitely are not. They are today using the mass contacts they made through America First to spread their gangrenous ideology. Workers must be on their guard.

Another word, therefore, on who financed the fascist-infested America First movement. This will complete the picture and tie up with the introductory remarks to the effect that the capitalists build up the Nazi movements everywhere.

### BIG BUSINESS BEHIND MOVEMENT

Writing under the name John Roy Carlson, an undercover man in the Nazi-fascist movement of America, reported in the American Mercury:

"Ernest T. Weir [the steel magnate of bloody fame] is known to have given heavily. Thomas N. McCarter, former chairman of the Public Service Corp. of New Jersey, is another heavy donor. H. L. Stuart, president of the leading investment house in the Midwest, is a financial supporter and so is Sterling Morton. The wealthy meat packer, Jay C. Hornel, has given liberally, as have Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbanks and Max Wellington Babb, president of Allis-Chalmers. A glance at this list makes it apparent that the movement is backed by a small clique of industrialists and big business men."

Militant workers have had first-hand experience with the Hitler-like anti-labor tactics of such industrialists as bloody Weir and the die-hard bosses of Allis-Chalmers. The iron heel of a Hitler on labor's neck is their idea of a bosses' paradise. Apparently they are willing to pay for it.

Just as before Pearl Harbor the American Nazis capitalized on the anti-war sentiment in the country, today they are busy employing, for their own blackguardly purposes, the discontents bred by the war.

The America Firsters officially dissolved themselves with the official declaration of war—in name, at least. The elements dangerous to the working class, comprising the ex-Bundists, Coughlinites, Christian Fronters, Christian Mobilizers, Silver Shirts and Ku Klux Klan, are very much in evidence.

Their blatant propaganda circulates all over the country. It emanates from the various vile publications of the veteran Nazi, William D. Pelley. Pelley's "The Galilean" is printed on expensive paper, is profusely illustrated and bears evidence of plenty of financial backing.

George W. Christians—now under indictment—heading the Crusader White Shirts of Chattanooga, Tenn., is another source from which spreads the poison of Hitlerism.

Father Coughlin—whose radio speeches at one time paralleled German Nazi utterances almost word for word—in his falsely named Social Justice—with subtlety and cynicism misinforms and misguides his followers.

Out of the industrial town of Wichita, Kan., comes "Publicity," publicizing the Nazi cause. From Haverhill, Mass., "Destiny" rattles the chains of Hitlerite slavery. From Muncie, Ind., "The X-Ray" reveals nothing but the fascist aims of its publishers.

The above is by no means the whole list of the American Nazi poison propaganda press, but only a rough idea of its extent. It bears all the earmarks of generous financial backing. Some of the filthy lucre undoubtedly comes from Dr. Goebbels—some of the "clique of industrialists and big business men" in America who hate labor's guts.

The next article in this series will be an analysis of the widespread Nazi propaganda. Their anti-Semitism, their fake criticism of the "plutocratic" war, their call for assassination and violence, their pretended opposition to the "bankers and princes of privilege"—all will be put under the searchlight of working class interests.

## LABOR ACTION Replies to Christian Science Monitor

The following letter has been sent to the editor of the Christian Science Monitor:

Dear Editor:

May I, as managing editor of LABOR ACTION, one of the periodicals attacked in R. H. Markham's article in your issue of March 26, 1942, say a few words in reply?

I do not wish to comment on Mr. Markham's general thesis other than to say that it is a dangerous denial of the basic liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights—There is nothing incongruous about radicals fighting to preserve civil rights, such as freedom of speech, while simultaneously attacking the capitalist economic system; on the contrary, we believe that the capitalist system is a hindrance to and eventual destroyer of democratic liberties and that it is only in the struggle for socialism that such liberties may be fully realized.

I am here, however, concerned with matters of far greater importance. It seems to me both slanderous and an instance of questionable journalistic ethics (especially for so generally careful a newspaper as the Christian Science Monitor) to assert that LABOR ACTION takes a "neutral attitude" toward fascism, Hitlerism or Japanese imperialism.

LABOR ACTION and its supporters were struggling against fascism when many others advised an ostrich policy. We were in the lead in the famous anti-Nazi demonstration at Madison Square Garden in February, 1938. We were fighting against fascism when Winston Churchill was saying: "I have always said that if Britain were defeated in war, I hoped that we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place among nations." (Speech of November 6, 1938.) We were fighting against fascism when the American press was filled with praise for Mussolini because "the trains were running on time." And we were opposed to Japanese imperialism when American business interests were shipping scrap iron to Japan (now landing in American bodies) and when that

policy was well-nigh universally approved.

We have, it is true, a different analysis of the cause of fascism and a different proposal as to how to destroy it than does Mr. Markham but that hardly warrants his saying that we are "neutral."

Nor is it true to say that LABOR ACTION "is devoted to denouncing everything everywhere and always." There are plenty of things we are FOR; your reporter could have discovered them very easily had he approached his assignment with a modicum of fairness.

He would have discovered that we have a positive program in defense of labor's rights, a positive program on how to destroy fascism, a positive program on taxation, a positive program in respect to racial discrimination. But to show that he would have had to do more than quote one sentence out of context.

But your reporter was more interested in wisecracks—and slanders.

He was more interested in making such utterly lying and vile statements—more fit for Der Deutsche Beobachter than for the Christian Science Monitor—as his statements about the Militant and the Socialist Call, whose anti-fascist integrity we defend despite our political disagreements with them. It is a slander to say that the Call tries to persuade anyone "that the better course for Americans now is to accept the teachings of pro-Nazi Americans and do nothing." Or that one gets "exactly the same impression, from a file of the Call that he does from a file of any Nazi periodical published anywhere."

If Joseph Goebbels were Mr. Markham's employer, he would pat Mr. Markham's cheek for this kind of slanderous amalgam, but what does the Christian Science Monitor have to say?

I request immediate publication of the above letter in order to reply to the utterly false assertions made in Mr. Markham's article.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Howe, Mng. Ed.,  
LABOR ACTION.



# The Saturday Evening Post Slanders the Jewish People

By IRVING HOWE

A national sensation has been created by the publication of Milton Mayer's article, "The Case Against the Jew," in the Saturday Evening Post of March 28.

If nothing else, it has served to bring into the open a national discussion of the subterranean anti-Semitic currents swelling at the base of the American social structure. The very title is so dangerously sensational, the writing is so skillful that one is certain that this article will be discussed everywhere for weeks.

Mayer begins with a bitter indictment of those Jews who attempt to "assimilate" themselves into the prevalent social structure.

"In his unmitigated effort to adjust, he [the Jew] had moved away from the 'kikes'... He changed his name in New York and his nose in Los Angeles... He reformed his ancient ritual and then abandoned it altogether, just like the gentiles, for the movies, the rumba and night clubs... He changed his day of rest and contemplation from Saturday to Sunday and gave up the rest for golf and the contemplation for fried chicken, just like the Gentiles..."

And again, "There was nothing that a Gentile would stoop to that a Jew wouldn't if he could... Jews in the South exploited Negroes as callously as gentiles did. In New York's Harlem and Chicago's Bronzeville, tremendous anti-Semitism has developed in the past decade because of the Jew's tenement profiteering... There are few employers as conscienceless as the Jewish sweatshop operator..."

### IS THEIR NUMBER FINALLY UP?

And now, Mayer tells us, the farce is over. "The Jews of America are afraid that their number is up—if not today, then tomorrow or the next. They know that war breeds chauvinism and that chauvinism breeds bigotry... they know that the post-war collapse will remind a bitter and bewildered nation that 'the Jews got us into the war.'"

"And they are not fooled by the lull in anti-Semitic activity since the beginning of the war... They know that there is something tentative and temporary in the notion that 'we are all Americans now'..."

This, then, is Mayer's description. Let us consider it before we discuss his "solution."

First of all, who are "the Jews" of whom Mayer writes? The growing number of Jewish factory workers? The hundreds of thousands of Jewish garment workers? The Jewish lower middle class at the very brink of the poverty in which the Jewish workers find themselves?

Of course not! These Jewish people—the great mass of the

Jewish population in America which is composed of ordinary workers or lower middle class elements—have never been exploited about "assimilating into country clubs." They have never exploited Negroes in the South or anywhere else. On the contrary, they have themselves been exploited—exactly like the rest of the American workers.

### HOW MANY JEWS CAN AFFORD TO PLAY GOLF?

How many Jews in this country can afford to play golf? How many own sweatshops? How many could afford to spend \$50 to change their names, even if they wanted to?

To merely ask these questions is to show the vicious character of Mayer's assertions. To speak of "the Jew" as synonymous with that small section of the Jewish people who are members of the capitalist class is a slander against the Jewish people as a whole. To charge against the Jewish people the practices of those Jews who are capitalists—practices which they commit in their capacity of being capitalists and not as adherents to any race or religion—is vile.

Of course, there are some Jews who behave as Mayer describes. (And so are there Catholics, Protestants, Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees, Seventh Day Adventists, Buddhists who are also capitalists.) They are the tiny minority of capitalists and upper class merchants whose class role, economic methods, ethics and habits are exactly the same as those of other capitalists and merchants, no matter what their religious affiliations may be.

### MOST CAPITALISTS AREN'T EVEN JEWISH

But as a matter of fact the basic capitalist strength in this country happens to be non-Jewish. The most important trust, the steel trust; the most important banks, the Chase National and National City; the most important financial oligarchies, the Morgan and Rockefeller—all non-Jewish.

But whether the percentage of Jews who are capitalists be 2 per cent or 3 per cent is of no real importance. What is important is that Jews who are capitalists exploit workers in their capacity of being capitalists (their religion plays absolutely no role in the process of production) and that non-Jews who are capitalists behave in exactly the same way. There is no such thing as "the Jew"; there are rich Jews and poor Jews, Jewish workers and Jewish bosses.

It is true of course that in America even a Jewish capitalist may occasionally suffer from anti-Semitism; but it is quite a different thing to be black-balled in an exclusive Palm Beach country club and to be discriminated against in a war industry when one's livelihood is at stake.

Mayer's description might have a grain of validity—if he were to say which class section of the Jewish population he is writing about. But then he would have to admit that it is a tiny minority

(insignificant as compared with the capitalist class as a whole.)

Then he couldn't call his article "The Case Against the Jew." At best he would have to call it "The Case Against Some Jewish Members of the Capitalist Class." And the Saturday Evening Post wouldn't like that; it is very sensitive about capitalists—even Jewish capitalists.

### WHO WILL READ THIS ARTICLE?

And it is this monstrous attempt to identify a national grouping with its capitalist section which makes Mayer's article so vile. Doesn't he know where he is writing? Doesn't he know that his article appears in a magazine which is read by every Babbitt in the country, by the mass of middle class elements, many of whose latent anti-Semitic prejudices will be stimulated by this description of "the Jew"? ("After all," they will think to themselves, "even a Jew says these things about his own people...")

When we reach Mayer's proposed "solution" we can first see how bankrupt and false his article is. The Jews, he tells us, are neither worse nor better than anyone else. And it is in this that their downfall lies. The Jews, Mayer says, must return to the faith of their fathers to the "radical righteousness" of Isaiah so that they may prepare for the suffering ahead by having something worth suffering for.

There is something positively vile about this argument. Why SHOULD the Jew be any "better" than anyone else? Why should he necessarily have an ounce of righteousness more than anyone else? Here is where Mayer's REAL surrender to the anti-Semites takes place, a thousand times more than in his libelous descriptions of "the Jew."

### THE DOUBLE STANDARD OF MAYER

For Mayer is reconciled to the victory of the fascists and the anti-Semites. Mayer accepts the race-haters DOUBLE STANDARD. The Jews, in order to exist, Mayer says, and in order to have an ennobling faith, must really prove themselves the "chosen people." This is the doctrine of Goebbels in a peculiarly inverted form. It is not enough that they are ordinary folk, as all others. They must all be little Isaiahs—otherwise they won't even be "better" and won't have spiritual solace when they fall under the stormtrooper's blows.

Mayer's counsel is the counsel of despair and surrender. He does not suggest how to fight anti-Semitism. He merely offers a guaranteed solace for future persecutions. But why should we assume that the victory of anti-Semitism (that is, of fascism) is inevitable?

Nor do we have much confidence in the value of Mayer's solace for those Jews in Europe who today suffer under the heel of anti-Semitism. The problem is not how to bear anti-Semitism; the problem is how to destroy it

Mayer does not touch on this question because he does not know the answer. Only once does he even hint at a possible cause of anti-Semitism and that is when he tells the anecdote of how, after Hitler had started his national boycott against the Jews, a mayor of a North Sea town telegraphed: "Send us a Jew to boycott."

There is more to be learned from that anecdote than from all the rest of Mayer's article.

Anti-Semitism, as any other racial hatred, is a deliberately and consciously provoked prejudice, utilized always by reactionary societies desperately trying to deflect mass discontent away from themselves and towards some chosen scapegoat.

In the development of capitalist society, anti-Semitism has taken its most severe and virulent form at precisely the time when the world revolutionary movement is at its lowest ebb and has sustained the greatest number of defeats; at precisely the time when capitalist decay takes its most cruel and brutal form: fascism. And that is not accidental.

For the future of the great mass of Jews—as the future of all national minorities—is inextricably bound up with the fate of the working class. Anti-Semitism is a symptom of a society in decay; only by the replacement of that society by a new, healthy, rational society can anti-Semitism be wiped out.

### HOW TO REMOVE ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism is a blind, irrational and desperate attempt on the part of those who sincerely believe in it to blame their ills on another section of society ("The Jews are responsible for this evil or that difficulty.") But it becomes dangerous only when it is deliberately fostered by capitalism (or its fascist section) in order to turn the masses of non-Jewish workers away from their real enemy—the capitalist system—and have them vent their anger on the Jews.

The only way to remove anti-Semitism is to remove the conditions which make people so desperate as to practice it.

Remove class exploitation; end wars; remove the inequality of wealth; abolish unemployment; substitute instead a socialist society of democracy and freedom, peace and security. Then, even if there were an anti-Semite left, his talk would fall on deaf ears.

Socialism makes possible a society where there are no national prejudices or racial antagonisms or religious persecutions. It removes the CAUSE of these poisons. It makes possible a free society of human beings—all with equal rights and opportunities. Anti-Semitism is only possible when men are looked upon as slaves to exploit or cannon fodder with which to gain imperialist conquest. It receives its deathknell once humanity as a whole gains socialist liberation.

## Editorials

### Conscript the Standard Oil Trust

(Continued from page 1)

Teagle is merely saying that: Business is international; it cares nothing about "four freedoms," democracy, the workers, the poor farmers, the exploited people. Big business is interested only in profits and it doesn't care how it gets them. IT IS NOT NOW AND NEVER WAS ANTI-FASCIST.

But militant socialists knew this all the time. LABOR ACTION has pointed out again and again that big business is the great inspirer and supporter of fascism, because fascism stands ready to defend to the very end the interests and profits of big business!

What happened after Arnold made his indictment? Standard Oil declared it would not contest the charge because it did not want to interfere with the war effort! The government agreed. So they settled the whole case by assessing a fine of \$50,000 against Standard Oil—the merest drop in the bucket. FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS—\$5,000 EACH FOR TEN OFFICERS! THINK OF THE GREAT PROFITS THEY MADE OUT OF THEIR DEAL WITH HITLER!

Thus a huge joke was made of the governmental indictment, and the Standard Oil officials must be laughing up their sleeves. No wonder, this company has

many officials in Washington as dollar-a-year men!

### WASHINGTON PLAYS IT DOWN

Immediately after Arnold made public his indictment of Standard Oil, the War and the Navy Departments, the Attorney General's Office and the President agreed to put a damper on the investigation of other companies, although they say "the laws of the country would be upheld." The reasons given for this action is that these investigations would interfere with production by taking up the time of company officials (who never produced anything, anyway).

No, there is something more fundamental than that. These investigations would show that Standard Oil was not alone in such conduct. Other big business monopolies have been and are doing the same thing. It would not go well with the people were all the facts known. It would not go well with labor, which surrenders one gain after another, while big business gives up nothing. It might bring about mighty protests of the people and force actions to take away the war profits from the bosses, something the miserable big business hirelings in Congress fight against with tooth and nail.

Big business is not fighting fascism and never has fought it. It is fighting for its business interests here and in the rest of the world. Big business does that in Germany, in Japan, in Great Britain, in France and in the United States.

Ask yourselves this question: Why is it whenever such investigations are made, whenever deals with fascists are exposed, it is always big business which is involved? Why is it that the labor movement is never guilty of such conduct? Why is it that labor is the only one which is MOST determined in the fight for democratic rights and against fascism? Why is it that fascism finds its best friends in the great business organizations, men who think like fascists and speak as they do?

The New York newspaper PM has written much about the case of Standard Oil. But what does it propose to do? It says that "136,355 American men and women own the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey." It proposes that these stockholders throw out the present officers of Standard Oil and put in good officers, "good business men," because the present officers love dividends more than they do their country!

But these 136,355 men and women do not REALLY own Standard Oil. They own a lot of stock—that is, they have given Standard Oil their money to use. But they have no power. Those who own the preferred stock, the rich stockholders, the power groups, they really own Standard Oil and run it. They decide its policies. They have the money, they have the lawyers, they have all the edge in such a fight—and they always lick the little stockholders! The majority of the stockholders own a minority of the stock! Besides, the WORKERS own little or no stock!

We have a much better proposal: CONSCRIPT ALL WAR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL! CONFISCATE ALL WAR PROFITS! INCREASE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE WORKERS!

Given this, there could not be secret deals between such monopolies as Standard Oil and fascist Germany or Italy or Japan!

The workers are the true anti-fascists. The workers are not interested in war profits. The workers are genuine democrats.

We say even more: All political power to a workers' government! Then we would have a true fight against fascism. Under such conditions it would be impossible for the capitalist class to profit from the war; it would be impossible for them to be in league with the fascists, here or abroad. It would make possible the establishment of a decent society, a society of genuine peace, of a real improvement of the living standards of all the people. Given such a government, given socialism, we could really smash imperialism and fascist barbarism!

### LABOR ACTION'S PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

#### LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

#### SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the costs of the imperialist war! Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

#### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces!
- Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

#### SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy, or by employers in industry, must be made a criminal offense!

#### BE PREPARED!

- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace Through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!

## How Standard Oil's Nazi Partner Helped Hitler

(Continued from page 1)

over the solicitude shown by the government for these corporations, it is necessary to understand just what the relationship is between the cartels, the war and the government.

Despite the exposés of Standard Oil and the other giants of American industry, it would be the sheerest stupidity to believe that these corporations are against the war. In reality they are not only for the war but they are the ones who direct the war. The dollar-a-year men who sit on the war boards are almost all representatives of America's big industrial corporations. Take Standard Oil alone.

Walter C. Teagle, chairman of the board, is one of the industry members of the War Labor Board. Philip Reed, chairman of the board of General Electric, one of the few companies closely enough associated with Standard Oil to be let in on the butyl process secret, is head of the industries branches of the War Production Board. Ralph Wolf, assistant director of the synthetic rubber laboratory of the Standard Oil Development Co., was made assistant chief of the War Production Board's synthetic rubber section.

### The International Cartel

The Standard Oil case merely brings to the fore the whole question of international cartels in which one can just as well include General Electric, Alcoa, the du Ponts, Allied Chemical, the Ford Motor Co. and numerous others, the totality of which would correspond to American big business. Nothing can better illustrate the imperialist character of the war than the fact that American big business entered into international agreements with such colossal firms as I. G. Farben of Germany and Imperial Chemicals of Great Britain for the purpose of dividing among them the markets of the world.

By this the capitalists of the world recognized the existence of the world capitalist conflict for a limited world market. So terrific was this conflict, and the First World War testifies to this, that attempts were made through international agreements to assure profits for all through an allocation of the world market according to the strength and capital of the participating cartels.

It is significant that cartel arrangements were promoted most during periods of depression. When business was bad in the home markets the big corporations intensified their search for the external market. In such times especially, competition on the world market could become so keen and ruinous to all that mutual arrangements among the cartels were entered into.

It is important to note that none of the cartels regarded their arrangements with each other as more than a temporary "peaceful" solution of the problem. They all recognized that the forms of their competition were interchangeably peaceful and bellicose. The present World War is evidence of the latter. Moreover, as they saw it, war was merely an interruption of

their relationship, which was to be resumed after it was over, with such alterations as the war itself would make, depending upon who would emerge the victor and who the vanquished. It is, in fact, a gentlemen's agreement for capitalist profit, for the sake of which millions are expected to die.

Though the international cartels expected their competition to result in war, their attitude and preparation for war were not at all the same. Just as Germany was a "have-not" nation as against the "have" nations of Great Britain and the United States, the cartels in Germany were the "have-not" cartels, as against the "have" cartels in Great Britain and the United States.

### I. G. Farben's Role

Thus I. G. Farben's role in Germany was quite different from that played in the United States by the Standard Oil Co. I. G. Farben is Germany's greatest corporation. As a big chemical trust, it performed the greatest part in the development of German synthetic industries in the First World War. Having lost the war, the German cartels also lost control of European, South American and Asiatic markets.

German corporations, particularly I. G. Farben, therefore set themselves the task of resurrecting German industry and the German state so as to successfully challenge anew their victorious rivals. They carefully studied the lessons of the First World War and appreciated the military and economic needs of the new German army. Throughout practically all the years following the First World War, German industry maintained the closest connection with the German War Ministry. It promoted and financed every reactionary movement, INCLUDING Hitler. It developed its industry and world-wide economic and political penetration always with an eye toward the war which it was preparing.

Finally with the advent of Hitler to power it showed him what a tremendous power it had built up for him both in Germany and in the world. Upon this foundation Hitler

subsidized still further the militarists and industrialists so that, with the outbreak of World War II, the German army was the strongest in the world and one corporation, I. G. Farben, had become the largest in the world. It had created German self-sufficiency in synthetic rubber, oil and gas, dominated, in addition to chemicals, the coal, electric power, explosives, poison gases, alloys and special metals, synthetic foods and numerous other industries. On top of this, the German industrialists followed in the wake of Hitler's armies over Europe and helped themselves by devious means to the great European industries.

### Not as Farseeing

Thus the German state reflects and acts in the interests of German capital and not the other way around. The American and Allied trusts, as the "have" cartels, were not as far-seeing as the Germans. They based their impulsion toward expansion more or less on the status quo. Socially they were just as reactionary as their German kind, and it is a fact that the German fascist system is dear to them. In their exclusive clubs they looked with envy upon the Hitler solution for the class struggle, and on more than one occasion helped the fascists over a bad hurdle.

What the government does is to slap the individual delinquent corporations gently on the wrist, and say: "Now you have got to stop such things which in the long run are against your own interests and which upset the applecart."

In reply Standard Oil and the rest of the recalcitrant capitalists say: "All right, we see the point now that we are caught with the goods. Still you had better make the punishment light and remember we are still calling the tune, so don't go too far and none of this 'reasonable' stuff. After all, whose war is this anyhow?"

And Thurman Arnold will say: "It was a 'take-it-or-leave-it' proposition and we took it."

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